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ABSTRACT

This study examined one specific problem connected with the ownership and content of the Indian press: Is there any significant difference between independent newspapers and conglomerate-controlled newspapers in the quantities of developmental, governmental, and political news they present? The period of study was 1973, during which four daily newspapers representing three languages were examined. A sampling design was adapted for constructing an artificial year by taking the Monday of the first week of January, Tuesday of the second week of February, Wednesday of the third week of March, and so on through Saturday of the fourth week of December. The findings show that the four sample newspapers, irrespective of ownership, devote more area to governmental and political news than to developmental news, i.e., news that deals with economic, social, and technological progress in developing nations. But the independent newspapers contain more developmental than governmental or political news, while the conglomerates have more governmental than developmental or political news. (The results are presented in both table and narrative form.) (RB)

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Ownership versus Developmental News Content: An Analysis of Independent and Conglomerate Newspapers of India

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Background

In June 1972, the Prime Minister of India expressed the view that the leading newspapers of the country were house magazines of big industrial houses.[1] The Minister for Information and Broadcasting had already said that the leading newspapers did not have a commitment to fundamentals for which the nation stood.[2] Government's latest thinking is reflected in a statement by the Deputy Minister for Information and Broadcasting, according to which government is committed to "delink newspapers from big industrial houses," since seven conglomerate corporations control fifty per cent of the total newspaper readership in India.[3]

Ever since the publication of the Report of the Press Commission in 1954, such criticisms about the ownership of newspapers have been expressed by government authorities, journalism educators and political leaders. The Commission, and later on, the Press Council pointed out that the press is not equal to India's social needs as it is in the hands of people who have no social commitment and whose major interests are profit-making and the promotion of their industrial and business ventures.[4] It has also been pointed out that the commercial-minded industrialist-proprietor, "completely innocent of his social obligations

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Dr. John A. Lent, an expert in Asian mass media, has given me invaluable guidance in this project. I am also grateful to Mr. M. V. Desai, Director, Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi, Mr. P. R. R. Sinha, Senior Research Specialist, AMIC, Singapore, and Mr. C. R. Irani, Managing Director, Statesman, Calcutta, for expressing their views about developmental news in answer to my queries.

as a newspaperman," would choose to safeguard his financial interests and support government policies blindly since he depends on government's favor for obtaining industrial licenses.[5]

Many prominent persons in India believe that the press does not devote any attention to major problems facing the country such as family planning, agricultural development and other developmental needs of the country.[6] In spite of its capacity to educate, the press does not educate or inform the people, but indulge in trivial newsmongering, the critics say. They also say that the press gives too much space and undue attention to political factions and personal activities of government officials and ignores developmental news.[7]

All these criticisms boil down to this: the press in India is mostly owned by persons who have other industrial interests to promote and does not pay any attention to the vital problems facing the nation.

Purpose of the study

Phrases such as "too much space" and "undue attention" do not mean much unless tested on the basis of systematic quantitative analysis. Those who defend the press[8] and those who condemn it[9] do not have systematic studies to support their statements. Most of the critical opinions have been expressed extempore. It is, therefore, the purpose of this study to examine one specific problem connected with the ownership and content of the Indian press: Is there any significant difference between independent newspapers and conglomerate-controlled newspapers in the quantities of developmental, governmental, and political news they present?

Review of literature

One problem encountered in this study is the absence of previous studies relating to the three categories of news and the absence of definitions of developmental news. Nair,[10] Simmons et al.,[11] and Rao[12] have studied the role of newspapers in development and modernization of India; Schramm,[13] Lerner,[14] Rogers,[15] Pye,[16] Pool,[17] Frey[18] and Barney,[19] have dealt with development and modernization in many countries of the world including India. But they have all been more interested in determining correlations between mass media usage and national development, than in finding out the actual state of affairs of the media or in evaluating the special responsibilities and performance of the media in developing countries.[20] A review of theses and dissertations does not indicate any study of the correlation between ownership and news content, although a couple of studies devote their attention to developmental and political news.[21]

Existing literature,[22] therefore, does not reveal any study capable of giving specific guidance in a study of the correlation between developmental news content and ownership of newspapers in India. None of the studies referred to above defines the term "developmental news" in the context of development in India, a drawback which this study attempts to remove.[23] In this, as in the quantitation of developmental, governmental and political news in Indian newspapers, this study differs from all other studies in the field.

Development journalism and developmental news

In simple terms, development journalism is journalism that deals with the process of development in developing nations. A developing

nation is defined by the United Nations as a country whose people have an annual per capita income less than 300 dollars, a definition accepted by many scholars including Schramm, who also believes that a country may be far more advanced than the rest of the world in its arts, culture or philosophy and yet be economically underdeveloped.[24] Most scholars agree that development journalism is journalism relating to the projects and programs launched in an economically backward country to provide certain minimum living standards to its people.[25]

A newspaper in a developing country ought to turn its attention quite frequently to various problems facing that country instead of being obsessed with the idea of attaining certain journalistic standards relevant to economically well-developed nations of the world. There are major problems facing India at the present time, such as agricultural development, family planning, housing, rural and urban development, social change, and national integration, just to mention a few. A socially responsible press will turn its attention frequently to these problems and take a crusading attitude towards their solution. Perhaps the Indian press is turning its attention to these problems. Perhaps not. It can be confirmed only by a systematic analysis of the manifest content of Indian newspapers.

In the absence of existing definitions of developmental news, it became essential to confirm the author's own definition in the light of critical opinions from leading communication scholars in developing countries. Mr. M. V. Desai of the Indian Institute of Mass Communication agreed that "news bearing on developmental policies and activities ... and news relating to agricultural development, food production, family planning, labor welfare and social change will certainly fall under the category of developmental news."[26]

Mr. P. R. R. Sinha of the Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC), Singapore, said that "development ought to be viewed in totality encompassing improvements in social, economic, cultural, educational, and physical aspects, all so intricately interwoven with the political systems of a country."[27] Mr. C. R. Irani of Statesman, Calcutta, though critical of modern research and content analysis techniques, agreed that development was synonymous with economic development, that is, the struggle for higher living standards.[28]

Operationally, developmental news has been defined for the purpose of this study, as news relating to the primary, secondary, and tertiary needs of a developing country. Primary needs are food, clothing, and shelter. Secondary needs are development of agriculture, industry and all economic activity which lead to the fulfillment of the primary needs, plus development of education, literacy, healthy environment, medical research, family planning, employment, labor welfare, social change, national integration, and rural and urban development. Tertiary needs are development of mass media, transport, tourism, telecommunications, arts and cultural activities.

Primary needs are the immediate needs of an individual in a developing society. Secondary and tertiary needs are needs which an individual might very well think of postponing even though their fulfillment may be vital to the all-round development of a society, and contribute to the total social, economic and political well being of the nation. The development of means to meet the secondary and tertiary needs may be essential to meet the primary needs on a

continuing basis. To summarize, developmental news is defined for the purpose of this study as follows: editorials, features, letters to editor, straight news and human interest stories including pictures, relating to:

1. administrative reforms:

elimination of red-tape and bureaucracy, introduction of measures which create better relations between the governors and the governed; people's grievances;

2. agricultural development and food production:

farming, fertilizers, cattle, animal husbandry, poultry, artificial insemination, seeds, improved methods of cultivation, land reforms, agricultural implements, mechanization, production of milk, meat, fish, vegetables, horticulture, food production, canning, distribution, dairy industry, farmers' problems;

3. economic activity:

foreign aid, five-year-plans, central government's aid to states, state governments' aid to villages, cooperative movement, exports, imports, import substitution, taxation, price increase, price reduction;

4. education:

development of educational facilities, reforms in educational systems, promotion of literacy, training of people in various skills, organization of adult education, library movement;

5. employment and labor welfare:

creation of job opportunities, problems of the educated unemployed, employment-oriented education, women's employment, problems of industrial, agricultural and other types of workers, workers' health, schemes for the betterment of working conditions in factories and other places of work, occupational safety, industrial hygiene, and occupational health;

6. family planning:

propagation of the need for family planning, working of the programs already launched, plans for future programs, organizations working in the field, production of contraceptives, field workers and their problems;

7. health, hygiene, and medicine:

drinking water supply, eradication of epidemics, health promotional activities, provision of public conveniences, environmental protection, medical science research, infant mortality, longevity;

8. housing:

problems of the homeless, plans for mass housing, promotion of low-cost homes, national housing needs, inadequate facilities in urban houses;

9. industrial, scientific, and technological development:

industrial output, problems of various industries, statistics relating to the achievements in various industries, reasons for not meeting production targets, self-sufficiency in resources, raw materials, scientists' achievements, national science laboratories, utilization of natural resources, inventions, industrialization, mechanization, automation, method improvement, technological changes, basic industries, atomic energy;

10. mass communications:

news relating to newspapers, radio, television, film, use of the mass media for dissemination of information, rural forums, freedom of speech, problems of the mass media, satellite communications;

11. national integration:

promotion of inter-state and national cultural activities, national academiesof letters and fine arts, promotion of national languages, inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, tribal people's modernization, communal harmony;

12. rural and urban development:

village reconstruction, village industries, promotion of traditional arts and crafts, migration of rural population to urban areas; rural electrification, small-scale industries, town and country planning, urban problems, urban slums;

13. social change:

fight against social evils such as the dowry system, caste system, prostitution, juvenile delinquency, religious bigotry, superstitious practices; prison reforms, civil rights, minority protection, other sociological and anthropological problems; and,

14. telecommunication, tourism and transport development:

road transport facilities, movement of goods, mass transit, posts and telegraphs, development of tourism, national monuments, historical sites, civil aviation, railways and telephones.

Governmental news

For the purpose of this study, governmental news is defined as editorials, features, letters to editor, and straight news including pictures, relating to the activities of government, and of government officials, sub-categorized into:

1. changes in central and state governments;
2. defense, law and order, and police;
3. district and local administration;
4. foreign relations;
5. government committees;
6. inaugurations and dedications;
7. miscellaneous governmental activities such as government's decisions on specific issues, press communiques, orders, cabinet meetings, statements, and announcements.
8. municipalities and panchayats;
9. parliament and state legislature proceedings;
10. personal news about ministers and government officials; and,
11. personnel changes such as appointments, transfers, promotions, awards, tours, of ministers and other government officials.

Political news

For the purpose of this study, political news is defined as editorials, features, letters to the editor, and straight news including

pictures relating to the activities of political parties and politicians, sub-categorized into:

1. boundary disputes:

disputes between states about boundaries usually played up by newspapers and politicians for cheap regional appeal;

2. elections:

elections to all legislative bodies including local bodies;

3. inter-party interactions:

political fights between various parties;

4. intra-party affairs:

activities of the same political parties excluding interactions with other parties;

5. labor-management interactions:

labor unions' activities; tripartite conferences; managements' reaction to various labor matters (in India, all labor unions are led by one political party or another);

6. language controversies:

people speaking different languages are incited to political action by factionists;

7. quasi-political organizations:

for example, students' unions, teachers' unions, pseudo-cultural organizations, all of which are overtly or covertly linked to political parties;

8. regionalism:

arousing political feuds in the name of cheap regional patriotism, for example, activities of Shiv Sena, Tamil Sena, etc.,

9. strikes:

including protest marches, sit-downs, lock-outs, vandalism by political action, gheraos (the practice of surrounding an opponent in his home, office or other place of work and not permitting him to go out even for his primary physical needs).

In all there are 34 categories.[29]

Operational plan

The four newspapers selected for this study are Aj (Hindi), and Hindu (English), both independent newspapers; and Malayala Manorama (Malayalam), and Times of India (English), both parts of conglomerates directed by people who have major financial interests in cement, sugar, chemicals, rubber, plastics and other products.

Rationale for the selection of the four newspapers

Out of the total 12,250 newspapers published in India, only the dailies which number 821 make up the universe of this study. These 821 dailies are published in 16 major languages of India. The universe of the study is further narrowed down to those languages in which dailies have the largest circulations. From the report of the Registrar of Newspapers of India, it can be seen that English, Hindi, and Malayalam dailies rank first, second, and third respectively in circulation (vide Appendix I). The three languages account for nearly 45 per cent by number, and 54 per cent by circulation of the total all-India figures for the number and circulation of dailies.

Another reason for confining the study to the dailies in the three languages is the importance of each language in the all-India context. English is the only link language in India, and it is the de facto official language of the country. No communication is possible between all the states of the Indian Union without English. Hindi is one of the national languages of the country with the greatest chance to develop into a link language as it is spoken by the largest number of people. It is hoped that Hindi will replace English in the near future. But instead of declining in importance, English has steadily

gained importance since Independence; in the field of journalism, this can be seen from the growth in number and circulation of English newspapers and magazines during the past twenty-five years. However, Hindi is the principal language in six out of twenty-one states of India and because of its close affinity with Marathi and Gujarati, it is understood by the people in Maharashtra and Gujarat. Roughly 30 per cent of India's population can understand Hindi. Malayalam is the language of the most literate state in India, Kerala. While the average literacy is 30.1 per cent, the literacy in Kerala is 60. 1 per cent. The newspaper diffusion rate per 1000 persons is also the highest in Kerala, 65.2 against 16, the national figure. The Unesco minimum is 100 for 1000 persons.[30]

Having defined the universe, the question of relating it to the specific needs of the study arose. Since one purpose of the study has been to determine if there is any statistically significant difference between conglomerate dailies and independent dailies in the quantities of developmental, governmental and political news they present, the problem of selecting dailies in the two ownership categories has been solved on the basis of circulation. Since it is not feasible for a single researcher to analyze several dailies in each category, two conglomerates and two independents have been selected. Each newspaper selected has the highest circulation in its own category. The four newspapers are independent of one another. The selected newspapers are representative of the categories of ownership, circulation, and language (vide Appendices I and II). For example, Hindu is the highest circulated independent English newspaper and Times of India, the highest circulated conglomerate English newspaper.

The period of study is 1973 during which Aj, Hindu, Malayala Manorama, and Times of India published nearly 13,000 pages excluding

Sunday issues. Sunday issues have been eliminated from the sample because they are differently designed and contain mostly magazine material such as short stories, movie critiques, religious and philosophic dissertations, and entertainment news.

The following categories of news have been excluded from this study: foreign news or news with a foreign dateline; advertisements; anniversaries; birthday celebrations; obituaries; religious ceremonies; accidents; lotteries; crimes; non-political cartoons; jokes; comic strips; results of educational and other competitions and examinations; holiday notices; sports; entertainments; animals, pets, news about religious heads and purely religious activities; children's and women's leagues; festivals; social celebrities; fiction; weather reports; cinema; index to news; and train, bus, air, ship travel timings.

Sampling

A sampling design originally used by Carter and Jones,[31] and later by Budd, Thorpe, and Donohew,[32] was adapted for constructing an artificial year by taking the Monday of the first week of January, Tuesday of the second week of February, Wednesday of the third week of March, Thursday of the fourth week of April, Friday of the first week of May, Saturday of the second week of June, and so on till Saturday of the fourth week of December.

Reliability

The reliability of the method was tested by the author himself analyzing the same issues of each newspaper on two different days separated by a week and by two graduate students proficient in English, Hindi, and Malayalam. A high percentage of agreement was obtained for the author's own codings on different dates, and for the codings of the

graduate students because of the clarity of the definitions of each main category and sub-category of the three types of news, and because of the mutual exclusiveness of the categories and sub-categories.[33]

Validity

Since this is a purely descriptive study, content or face validity is considered sufficient.[34] If the sample of dailies analyzed supports or does not support statements by leaders in India, documented in the early part of this study, the validity of the study will be established. The categories and sub-categories have been judged by independent researchers and social scientists and communications specialists as mutually exclusive and adequate.

Assumptions

One of the assumptions of this study has been that a quantitative measurement of the three major categories of news in the sample newspapers is a sufficient test of their interest in those types of news. If a newspaper gives more space to developmental news than to political and governmental news, that newspaper can be considered to have taken a keen interest in developmental activities. Another assumption is that in developing countries, all mass media have a special responsibility of taking more interest in problems connected with economic development of the people and of presenting information that is vital to nation building. The three types of news - developmental, governmental, and political - are certain to appear in all newspapers, but the quantities of each type of news will differ.

Specific hypotheses

The specific hypotheses of this study are: 1. that the four sample newspapers concentrate their attention on governmental and

political news giving more space to those types of news than to developmental news; and 2. that there will be no statistically significant difference among the four sample papers on the basis of ownership as far as the quantities of the three main categories of news are concerned.

Definitions

An independent newspaper is defined as a newspaper that is chiefly owned by a person or a group of persons having no other business or industrial interests under their direct management or directorship.

A conglomerate-controlled newspaper is defined as a newspaper that is chiefly owned by persons or groups, companies or trusts that have other business or industrial interests under their direct management or directorship. Out of the four newspapers selected, two (Aj and Hindu) are independents and the other two (Malayala Manorama and Times of India) are conglomerate-controlled.

Mode of measurement

Headlines and pictures have been taken as part of the news item and the measurement made in column inches. The number of items has also been counted since this study makes use of both the area in column inches and the items count for purposes of statistical calculations. Area has been used for analysis of variance and items count for chi-square analysis. In order to standardize the measurements made in the four newspapers (which differ in the number of pages), the area and items per page are taken throughout as the standard. The quantitative analysis of the three categories of news in terms of both area and items is employed to heighten the accuracy of the results.

Results

Results support the first hypothesis. Aj gives 28.2 per cent of its newshole to governmental and political news, whereas only 19.5 per cent to developmental news. Hindu devotes 26.2 per cent of its newshole to governmental and political news and 18.8 per cent to developmental news. Manorama gives 37.2 per cent to governmental and political news, and 10.3 per cent to developmental news; the figures for Times of India are 33.5 per cent and 9.2 per cent, respectively.

All four newspapers, irrespective of ownership, use a larger area for governmental and political news and a much smaller area for developmental news. The first hypothesis of the study has, therefore, been supported.

The second hypothesis has been that there will be no statistically significant difference among the four sample papers on the basis of ownership as far as the quantities of the three main categories of news are concerned. Aj and Hindu give 19.5 per cent and 18.8 per cent, respectively of their newsholes to developmental news, whereas they give only 13.9 per cent and 17.8 per cent respectively to governmental news, and 14.3 per cent and 8.4 per cent, respectively, to political news. Aj and Hindu are independent newspapers.

On the other hand, Manorama and Times of India give 25.1 per cent and 22.7 per cent, respectively, of their newsholes to governmental news, and 12.1 per cent and 10.8 per cent, respectively, to political news. But they use only 10.3 per cent and 9.2 per cent, respectively, of their newsholes for developmental news. This clearly indicates that conglomerate-controlled Manorama and Times of India concentrate their

attention on governmental news and political news by giving more space to those two categories of news than to developmental news.

In order to test whether the difference observed among the newspapers is statistically significant, or just the result of chance, an analysis of variance has been done.

Table I

An analysis of variance in terms of the area per page of the three main categories of news

N = 12 x 4

Newspaper	Developmental news (column inches)	Governmental news (column inches)	Political news (column inches)
Aj, Varanasi	$\bar{x}$ = 24.271	$\bar{x}$ = 17.848	$\bar{x}$ = 17.232
Hindu, Madras	$\bar{x}$ = 14.071	$\bar{x}$ = 13.395	$\bar{x}$ = 6.394
Manorama, Kottayam	$\bar{x}$ = 10.353	$\bar{x}$ = 22.396	$\bar{x}$ = 10.782
Times, New Delhi	$\bar{x}$ = 9.239	$\bar{x}$ = 20.838	$\bar{x}$ = 9.879

Summary of the analysis

Source of variation	Sum of squares	df	Mean sum of squares	F-ratio	
Total	12220.12	143			
Between rows (newspapers)	1424.36	3	474.79	7.8608	$p < 0.01$
Between columns (areas)	986.77	2	493.39	8.1687	$p < 0.01$
Interaction	1836.13	6	306.02	5.0666	$p < 0.01$
Within cell	7972.86	132	60.40		

It is clear from the above that the differences among the newspapers and among the areas are highly significant with a statistical

probability of error less than 0.01. The independents, Aj and Hindu, devote more area to developmental news than the conglomerates, Manorama and Times. The conglomerates give more area to governmental news than the independents. Manorama devotes the maximum area to governmental news, and Hindu the least, with Times and Aj ranking second and third, respectively. Aj gives the maximum area to developmental news and Times the least, with Hindu and Manorama ranking second and third respectively. Since there is a clear distinction between the two groups of newspapers in the sample, on the basis of ownership, the second hypothesis has not been supported.

In order to test whether an items count analysis using a different statistical tool will substantiate the above results, the total number of items given by each newspaper for each main category of news has been taken for chi-square analysis. Results show that there is significant difference ($p < 0.001$ for Hindu, Manorama and Times and $p < 0.02$ for Aj for the three types of news; and $p < 0.001$ for the three types of news in all the four newspapers taken together) between the quantities of developmental, governmental, and political news items in each newspaper.

An in-depth analysis of all the thirty-four sub-categories of news indicates that the top ten priorities on the basis of area do not include family planning, social change, housing, communications, national integration, education and literacy (except Aj), health, hygiene and medicine, administrative reforms, employment, and labor welfare, whereas parliament and state legislature proceedings, foreign relations, inter-party feuds, intra-party affairs, personal news and changes relating to persons in authority, police, law and order, and

strikes happen to be among the top ten priorities of all newspapers.

Table II

Rank order of the top ten priorities of the four newspapers

Aj	Hindu
Agricultural development and food production	Parliament and state legislatures
Strikes	Technical, scientific, and industrial development
Intra-party affairs	Economic activity
Miscellaneous governmental news	Agricultural development and food production
Rural and urban development	Police, law and order and defense
Parliament and state legislatures	Foreign relations
Education and literacy	Inter-party interactions
Economic activity	Intra-party affairs
Inter-party interactions	Strikes
Foreign relations	Personnel changes
Malayala Manorama	**Times of India**
Parliament and state legislatures	Parliament and state legislatures
Inaugurations and dedications	Strikes
Strikes	Foreign relations
Miscellaneous governmental news	Intra-party affairs
Agricultural development and food production	Police, law and order, defense
Intra-party affairs	Agricultural development and food production
Police, law and order, and defense	Inter-party interactions
Personal news about ministers	Miscellaneous governmental news
Technical, scientific, and industrial development	Technical, scientific and industrial development
Quasi-political organizations	Personnel changes

Conclusions

The findings reported above show that the four sample newspapers, irrespective of ownership, devote more area to governmental and political news than to developmental news. But the independent newspapers give more developmental than governmental or political news; the conglomerates more governmental than developmental or political news. An all-category analysis shows that the four newspapers

ignore vital developmental problems. The top ten priorities of the four newspapers do not include communications, health, hygiene, medicine, family planning, housing, employment and labor welfare, national integration, administrative reforms, and rural and urban development. All newspapers focus attention on parliament and state legislature proceedings, quasi-political organizations, inter-party interactions, intra-party affairs, strikes, inaugurations and dedications, personal news about ministers and government officials, miscellaneous governmental activities, and personnel changes in government.

It is obvious that ownership is not the only major contributor to the indifference of the sample newspapers towards developmental news sub-categories, although independents take more interest than conglomerates in developmental issues. Perhaps there is no awareness among the sample newspapers' publishers, editors, and reporters about the special responsibility of journalists in developing countries. These newspapers, it seems, follow the traditional practice in pre-independent India, namely, reporting the utterances, itineraries, and dedicatory acts of persons in authority, whether they be legislators, ministers or government officials. Otherwise, there cannot be such a heavy concentration of attention on parliament and state legislature proceedings, inaugurations and dedications, personal news about ministers and government officials, and personnel changes in government.

There is conclusive evidence in this study for the greater attention given by conglomerate-controlled newspapers to governmental news than by independent newspapers. Whether this is the result of the conglomerates' eagerness to please government for winning favor from various ministries sanctioning industrial licenses is an open question.

A more detailed analysis of the news with emphasis on the content of each news item will be necessary to find an answer. Since this is a preliminary study, and the method is quantitative, results of the study merely state the quantities of the different types of news in each newspaper and the quantity of each sub-category of news.

Recommendations

1. In order to determine whether all newspapers in India have the same indifferent attitude to developmental news, a larger sample from the sixteen major languages of India should be taken up for analysis.

2. It is necessary to analyze more independent newspapers and conglomerate-controlled newspapers to draw definite conclusions as to whether ownership is really responsible for the indifference of newspapers to developmental problems.

3. A cross-media study of developmental news content in radio, television, and daily newspapers of India is recommended.

4. A cross-national study of developmental news is recommended, particularly in the media of developing countries in Asia, Africa, and South America.

Footnotes

[1]C. R. Irani in "Condemned without Trial: The Indian Press,"(Quest, Vol. 77, July-August 1972, pp. 9-16) refers to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's remark about big English newspapers.

[2]I. K. Gujral in "Social Commitments and Freedom of the Press," (IPI Report, April 1971, pp. 8-9) explains that the nation stands for democracy, secularism, national integration, territorial integrity, and a new socio-economic relationship befitting the current [illegible]onal context. He says that the owners of the major newsp[illegible]hould realize the new responsibilities cast upon them.

[3]D. B. Sinha's statement appeared in Hindu dated October 4, 1974, p. 7, col. 5, and Times (London), dated December 6, 1974, p. 8, cols. 6 & 7.

[4]For details, see Report of the Press Commission (New Delhi: Government of India publication, 1954, pp. 265-279),and for the Press Council Chairman's criticism, see What Ails the Indian Press (New Delhi: Somaiya Publications (P) Ltd., 1970, p. 4). Also see Report of the Advisory Committee on the Press Council (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1968, p. 91), where appears the statement by the Secretary of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists who resigned from the Press Council pointing out that the Council was constituted mainly by people who believed that the Indian press needed to be free only from governmental interferences and not from the industrial monopolies which controlled the bulk of it.

S. Natarajan (Democracy and the Press, Bombay: Manaktalas Publications, 1965, pp. 23-32), and M. Chalapathi Rau (The Press in India, Bombay: Allied Publishers Private Ltd., 1968, p. 67), point out that the Indian industrialists make newspapers a subsidiary business and that newspapers should declare the other interests of their owners at regular intervals. The Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission and the Mahalanobis Report on the Concentration of Economic Power have cited instances of industry-owned newspapers exercising economic power through control of information and indulging in malpractices by which share values of certain joint stock companies were manipulated.

[5]D. R. Mankekar, "Why No Watergates Here?" Quest, Vol. 87, March-April, 1974, pp. 33-36.

[6]V. V. Giri, former President of India, criticized newspapers for ignoring development and social change (vide Ben Mkapa's "A View from Tanzania," Communicator, October 1973, p. 22).

R. R. Diwakar, Chairman of the Small Newspapers Enquiry Committee said at the close of a seminar in Bangalore in 1972, that the Indian newspapers were not helpful in bringing about land reforms and other major developmental changes.

[7] Chanchal Sarkar, Director of the Press Institute of India, New Delhi, stresses the social responsibility of the Indian press in almost all his books and articles. Specific references are available in What Ails the Indian Press, op. cit., and in Challenge and Stagnation: The Indian Mass Media (New Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1969, pp. 19 and 44-45). A. D. Gorwala in "The Press As an Educative Factor," (A. G. Noorani, ed. Freedom of the Press in India, Bombay: Nachiketa Publications Ltd., 1971, pp. 36-45) discusses the lack of developmental news in Indian newspapers.

[8] A Free Press is the Essence of a True Democracy, New Delhi: Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, 1970 (?), pp. 7-10 (unpaged, undated booklet). This study defends the existence of chains, combines and groups as necessary to provide a considerable choice to the readers. It points out that the criticism leveled against the rpess in India is unfair, since editors of different newspapers express different views and opinions on selected topics and the same group takes divergent stands on the same issues.

[9] S. Banerjee, India's Monopoly Press: A Mirror of Distorition, New Delhi: IFWJ Publications, 1973. Banerjee writing for the Indian Federation of Working Journalists condemns the big English newspapers of India for standing against progressive steps taken by government and for distorted presentation of major events such as bank nationalization in modern India's political history. The book is a retort to the IENS study referred to in footnote No. 8. Except these two studies there are no major studies on ownership and content. Even they do not deal with developmental news but try to establish certain points of view without systematic analysis of content.

[10] L. R. Nair, "Private Press in National Development - the Indian Example," in D. Lerner and W. Schramm (eds.), Communication and Change in Developing Countries, Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967, pp. 168-189.

[11] E. Simmons, K. Kent and V. M. Mishra, "Media and Developmental News in Slums of Ecuador and India," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 45, Winter 1968, pp. 698-705. Also see, V. M. Mishra, Communication and Modernisation in Urban Slums, New York: Asia Publishing House, 1972.

[12] Y. V. L. Rao, Communication and Development: A Study of Two Indian Villages, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966.

[13] Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, Paris: Unesco, 1964.

[14] Daniel Lerner, Passing of Traditional Society, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958.

[15] Everett M. Rogers, and Floyd F. Shoemaker, Communication of Innovations: A Cross Cultural Approach, New York: Free Press, 1971.

[16] Lucian W, Pye (ed.) Communications and Political Development, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

[17]Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Wilbur Schramm et al. (eds.) Handbook of Communication, Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1973.

[18]Frederick W. Frey, "Communication and Development," in Pool, Schramm, Frey et al. (eds.) Handbook of Communication, op.cit., pp. 337-461.

[19]Ralph D. Barney, "Mass Media Roles in Development: A Descriptive Study from Four Developing Areas," Gazette, Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1973, pp. 222-238.

[20]For a similar line of thought, see John C. Merrill's "The Role of the Mass Media in National Development: An Open Question for Speculation," Gazette, Vol. XVII, 1972, pp. 236-242.

[21]Sharon R. Blinco's "News Flow and Development: A Content Analysis of Four Indian Dailies," (Madison: University of Wisconsin, M. A. Thesis, 1971) examines development but omits very essential categories of development. It does not deal with ownership content correlation and does not analyze any Indian language newspaper. H. C. Shah's "India's Union Government Ministers and the Press," (Bloomington: Indiana University, M. A. Thesis, 1971) establishes that all the major English language newspapers are predominantly politics-oriented.

[22]The literature search covered the period 1954-1974.

[23]There is also no study in the literature that devotes its attention to a comparison of the quantities of developmental, governmental, and political news content in three important languages of India. Most studies on Indian newspapers are studies of English language newspapers of India.

[24]Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

[25]Nora C. Quebral defines development communication in the context of agricultural development in the Philippines. See "What Do We Mean by 'Development Communication?" International Development Review, Vol. 2, 1973, p. 25. See also Howard Coats' "Why Development Journalism?" (Report of the Development Journalism Seminar held in Kuala Lumpur, July 4-13, 1973), for a discussion of development journalism. Quebral and Coats discuss development communication but their articles do not give a definition of developmental news that is suitable to the Indian context.

[26]M. V. Desai, Director, Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi, personal letter dated May 31, 1974.

[27]P. R. R. Sinha, Senior Research Specialist, AMIC, Singapore, personal letter dated May 31, 1974.

[28] C. R. Irani, Managing Director, Statesman, Calcutta, personal letter dated May 21, 1974.

[29] In the selection of categories for governmental news, general guidance was taken from Chilton R. Bush ("A System of Categories for General News Content," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 2, 1960, pp. 206-210).

[30] John A. Lent (The Asian Newspapers' Reluctant Revolution, Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1971), discusses the importance of English newspapers in India and gives a picture of the general journalism scene in the country. For specific references, see articles by K. E. Eapen and R. E. Wolseley.

For statistics on population, language and literacy, see India: A Reference Annual, 1973 (New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Information, 1973).

[31] Robert L. Jones and Roy E. Carter, Jr., "Some Procedures for Estimating 'News Hole' in Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 399-403, 1959.

[32] Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorpe, and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications, New York: Macmillan Co., 1967, pp. 12-15, and 25-30.

[33] The following were the results of the reliability testing conducted for this study:-

Items count	Percentage of agreement
Developmental news	92
Governmental news	98
Political news	97
Newshole measurement	
Area in column inches	95
Number of items	100

[34] Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969, p. 133.

Appendix I

The Top Ten Languages of India Based on the Highest Daily Newspaper Circulation

Rank	Language	Circulation (million)	Number of dailies	Diffusion Rate++
1	English	2.220	78	*
2	Hindi	1.520	222	11.30
3	Malayalam	1.110	60	65.20
4	Marathi	0.910	77	27.34
5	Tamil	0.908	97	29.71
6	Gujarati	0.683	43	33.60
7	Bengali	0.597	15	17.60
8	Urdu	0.376	102	16.12
9	Kannada	0.314	39	18.03
10	Telugu	0.237	17	6.29

Source: Press in India, 1972 (16th Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers), New Delhi: Government of India, 1972, and

India: A Reference Annual, 1973 (see footnote No. 30)

++Diffusion Rate is the number of copies of the dailies available for 1000 of the population. The Unesco minimum is 100.

*Diffusion rate for English is not available since the figures for the number of people speaking English are not given in any statistical publication. It is a paradox that the English newspapers enjoy the highest circulation in the country.

Note: 53 per cent of total circulation of all dailies in the major languages of India and 46 per cent of the total number of dailies are shared by English, Hindi and Malayalam dailies.

Appendix II

Five Big Conglomerate Newspapers of India

Name of conglomerate company	Total no. of news and non-news interest publications 1971	Total circulation of the most important daily in the group in 1971.	Total circulation of all newspapers in the group, 1971 (million)
Bennett Coleman & Co. Ltd.	29	Times of India[1] 3 editions cir: 262,302	1.82
Express Group	26	Indian Express[2] 7 editions cir: 548,511	1.35
Hindustan Times & Allied Publications	13	Hindustan Times[3] 1 edition cir: 149,566	0.58
Statesman Ltd.	5	Statesman[4] 2 editions cir: 193,522	0.23
Malayala Manorama Co. Ltd.	3	Malayala Manorama[5] 2 editions cir: 317,974	0.60
Total	76	1,471,875	4.58

Note: The total circulation of newspapers in India is 29.6 million, out of which 4.6 million is commanded by these five groups, i.e., roughly 15 per cent. Out of 9 million circulation for dailies, these groups' most important dailies alone command roughly 28 per cent. Besides, Bennett Coleman & Co., and the Indian Express and Hindustan Times groups have other newspapers besides the ones mentioned above. Bennett Coleman & Co. Ltd. commands 13.9 per cent of the total circulation of English newspapers, 16.1 per cent of Hindi newspapers, and 12.5 per cent of Marathi newspapers. The Express group commands 21.4 per cent in English, 17.5 per cent in Marathi, 48.5 per cent in Telugu, 17.1 per cent in Kannada, and 18.4 per cent in Tamil. The Hindustan Times group commands 8.1 per cent of the circulation in English, and 12.1 per cent in Hindi. The Statesman group commands 8.7 per cent of the circulation in English. The Malayala Manorama group commands 28.5 per cent of the circulation in Malayalam.

Footnotes in Appendix II

	Circulation
[1] Times of India, Bombay	1,56,904
[2] Indian Express, Bombay	1,03,200
[3] Hindustan Times, New Delhi	1,49,566
[4] Statesman, Calcutta	1,50,228
[5] Malayala Manorama, Kottayam	2,11,050

Note: When the highest circulated edition of the daily in each of the conglomerate-controlled newspapers is taken, Times of India leads the rest of the English language newspapers and Malayala Manorama leads the Indian language newspapers.

Among the independent English newspapers, Hindu has the highest circulation, 2,01,357 in three editions of which the Madras edition has a circulation of 1,41,376. Among the independent Hindi newspapers, Aj has the highest circulation, 45,000.